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THE SLAVIC LANGUAGES - THEIR EXTERNAL HISTORY.
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PUB DATE 67

EDRS PRICE MF-\$0.~~82~~⁸⁵ HC-\$2.44 59P.

DESCRIPTORS- *SLAVIC LANGUAGES, *EUROPEAN HISTORY, *AREA STUDIES, LANGUAGE TYPOLOGY, OFFICIAL LANGUAGES, ETHNIC GROUPS, LANGUAGE STANDARDIZATION, EASTERN EUROPE, SLAVIC PEOPLES,

THIS INTRODUCTION TO THE HISTORY OF THE SLAVIC LANGUAGES IS DESIGNED FOR COLLEGE STUDENTS INTERESTED IN SLAVIC AREA STUDIES OR HISTORY. THE AUTHOR FIRST PRESENTS A GENERAL TYPOLOGY OF THE SLAVIC LANGUAGES AND LISTS THEM WITH THEIR MAJOR SPEECH COMMUNITIES. THE BACKGROUND OF EACH LANGUAGE IS THEN DISCUSSED IN SOME DETAIL INCLUDING THE MAJOR HISTORICAL INFLUENCES ON PRESENT FORM AND STANDARDS OF USAGE. FREQUENT EXAMPLES ILLUSTRATE THE CORRELATION BETWEEN LANGUAGE CHANGE AND FOREIGN CONQUEST AND POLITICAL DOMINATION. NO PREVIOUS KNOWLEDGE OF LINGUISTICS IS NECESSARY TO USE THIS STUDY. (JD)

INTERNATIONAL STUDIES PROGRAM

**THE ACADEMIC DISCIPLINES
UNIVERSITY OF PITTSBURGH**

THE SLAVIC LANGUAGES - THEIR EXTERNAL HISTORY

BY

CHARLES E. BIDWELL

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THE SLAVIC LANGUAGES - their external history

by

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1967

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INTRODUCTION

The Slavic peoples are those nations which use one of the Slavic languages and are divided into the Eastern Slavs, who are the Russians, Ukrainians, and Bielorrussians, the Western Slavs, who are the Poles, Czechs, Slovaks, and Lusatian Sorbs, and the South Slavs, comprised of the Slovenes, Croats, Serbs, Macedonians and Bulgarians. Croats and Serbs speak one language -- Serbo-Croatian -- but are separated by alphabet (the Serbs use the Cyrillic, similar to the Russian writing, while the Croats use the Latin letters similar to those we use for writing English) and religion (the Croats are Roman Catholic, the Serbs Eastern Orthodox).

The Slavic languages form a branch of the Indo-European family of languages, which embraces most of the languages of Europe (including English, of course, which belongs to the Germanic group) and a number of languages of the Middle East and India. The original Indo-European people inhabited an area of the great Eurasian plain, probably north of the Black Sea, several millenia ago. They were then just emerging from the stone age and had, of course, no written records. With increasing population they gradually split up, sending off first one group and then another, until finally only the Slavs were left.

At their first appearance in history -- during the early centuries of the Christian era -- the Slavs lived north of the

Carpathian mountains, in present day Eastern Poland and Western Ukraine. About 500 A.D. they began a rapid expansion -- to the northeast into present-day Russia, to the West, as far as East Germany, and South -- over the Carpathians into Bohemia and Slovakia and further across the Danube into the Balkan peninsula. As a result of these migrations the present-day Slavic nations eventually arose.

Shortly thereafter Christianity began to be introduced. Eleven hundred years ago (863), Rastislav, Prince of Moravia (part of present day Czechoslovakia) requested the Eastern Roman Emperor at Constantinople to send missionaries who could teach the Christian doctrine in the language of his people. The Emperor's choice fell upon two brothers from Salonica in Greece, who from childhood knew the Slavic tongue of tribes then living near that city. Sts. Cyril and Methodius translated the Gospel into the Old Church Slavic tongue, devising an alphabet to write the hitherto unwritten Slavic tongue. With the introduction of Christianity we see the beginning of writing and the adoption of cultural forms from the Mediterranean world, then the center of European civilization. At this early period the influence of Byzantium (Constantinople) was paramount. Those Slavs bordering the West, however, were more influenced by the Latin and Germanic cultures of Italy and Central Europe. Thus there eventually came about the re-

ligious orientation of the Poles, Czechs, Slovaks, Slovenes, and Croats toward Rome, while the Eastern Slavs and the Serbs, Macedonians, and Bulgars were oriented toward Byzantium and the Eastern Orthodox Church. A small group are the Byzantine Catholics (also called Uniates), who retain the Old Slavonic language and the Byzantine rite in their church, but are in union with Rome. Protestantism, of course, came later, and among the Slavs is an important minority only in Czechoslovakia.

Though many of the Slavic peoples had flourishing national states in medieval times, the dawn of the modern era saw most Slavs living under foreign rule. The Turkish conquest of the Balkans put Serbs, Bulgars, Macedonians, and many Croats under Ottoman rule, while the rest of the Central European Slavs were incorporated in the then rising Austro-Hungarian Empire. To the North and East, Russia and the Ukraine suffered conquest by the Mongols which ended the earlier civilization of Kievan Rus'. Poland in union with Lithuania formed a powerful unit, which also included Bielorussian and Ukrainian territories. However, upon throwing off the Tatar yoke, the principality of Moscow (its rulers later adopted the title "Czar" from Caesar, in imitation of the Byzantine Emperors) became the predominant power of the East and the Polish-Lithuanian State crumbled before it, eventually to be partitioned between Russia, Austria, and Hungary.

The early nineteenth century saw only Russia as an independent Slavic state (along with diminutive Montenegro). However,

this time also marked the beginning of a national revival among the Slavs. The Balkan Slavs began to revolt against Turkish dominion, first Serbia and later Bulgaria achieving independence. The Poles too had three revolutions against Russian Czarist rule. In the Austro-Hungarian Empire Slav nationalism took on cultural and political forms, rather than expressing itself in direct action. The national movements of the Czechs and of the South Slavs in the Empire are an example. Through loss of political independence most of the Slavic nations (the Poles and Croats were exceptions) lost their native intelligentsia and leadership, but with the spread of education and economic advancement the various Slavic nations created a new leading group. No longer did economic and educational advancement automatically mean absorption into another, dominant non-Slavic group.

The break-up of the great empires after World War I led to establishment of the independent Slavic States. Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia were new states created at that time. The Russian Empire underwent the Bolshevik revolution resulting in the establishment of Communist rule in Russia and also in the Ukraine (where there had been briefly an independent nationalist republic) and in Bielorussia. After World War II all the Slavic countries came under Communist rule, though lately they have come to show greater or lesser independence from Moscow's direction (Yugoslavia having broken away completely already in 1948).

THE STATUS OF THE VARIOUS SLAVIC LANGUAGES;
 SIZE AND LOCATION OF THEIR SPEECH-COMMUNITIES

South Slavic

The South Slavic languages are Church Slavic, Slovenian, Serbo-Croatian, Macedonian, and Bulgarian.

Church Slavic is not (and has not been for centuries) a spoken language. It is the liturgical language of the Orthodox and Byzantine Catholic churches in Slavic countries and of the Roman Catholic Church in certain small areas of Croatia.

Slovenian is the official language of the people's republic of Slovenia in Yugoslavia. It is the native language of the overwhelming majority of the population of that republic. Slovenian speaking minorities exist in Italy, Austria, and Hungary in areas adjacent to the Yugoslav frontier. There are Slovenian emigrant colonies in many countries, particularly the United States. Speakers: c. 2,000,000.

Serbo-Croatian is the principal official language of Yugoslavia and is the native language of the vast majority of the population of Croatia, Serbia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Montenegro. Very small Serbo-Croatian speaking minorities exist in Hungary, Rumania, Austrian Burgenland, Czechoslovakia (one or two villages only), and Southern Italy (a few villages in the province of Campobasso). Emigrant colonies exist in various countries of Western Europe, Oceania, and the Americas (par-

ticularly United States). Speakers: c. 17,000,000.

Macedonian is the official language of Macedonia in Yugoslavia and is native speech of the majority of the population of that republic. There is a considerable Macedonian speaking minority in north-western Greece (region of Kastoria - Florina - Edessa) and a few Macedonian speaking villages in Albania. Emigrant colonies exist in many countries. Speakers: c. 1,000,000.

Bulgarian is the official language of Bulgaria and the native language of most of its population. There are Bulgarian speaking minorities in USSR (Bessarabia), Yugoslavia (districts of ex-Caribrod, now Dimitrovgrad, and Bosiljgrad), Greece (mainly Moslem Pomaks in Thrace), and a very small population of Catholic Bulgarians in the Yugoslav and Rumanian Banat. Emigrant colonies exist in various countries, particularly United States. Speakers: c. 8,000,000.

East Slavic

Russian has well over 150,000,000 speakers. Almost all of them live within the present boundaries of the USSR, particularly in the Russian Soviet Socialist Republic, which is the largest federal unit of the Soviet Union. Emigrés live as scattered individuals or groups in various parts of the world, including the United States. Russian is the chief official language of the Soviet Union and, as such, also functions as a

language of intercommunication among the various national groups within the Soviet Union to which it is not native. Russian is an important second language in a number of countries bordering the Soviet Union, particularly in Eastern Europe, and is increasingly studied in Western countries by scholars who wish to gain first-hand knowledge of the rich Russian cultural heritage, by social scientists who wish to follow the history and development of the Soviet system, and by natural scientists who wish to keep in touch with the developments in their disciplines as reported in Soviet publications.

Ukrainian, numerically the second most important Slavic language, has some 40-45 million speakers, the bulk of them within the Ukrainian SSR, though there are sizeable blocks of Ukrainian speakers in Soviet republics adjacent to the Ukraine and in Siberia, small minorities in Poland and Slovakia, and immigrant colonies overseas, particularly in Canada and the United States. Ukrainian is the official language of the Ukrainian SSR and the national language of the Ukrainian people, who are the second largest ethnic group (after the Russians) in the Soviet Union.

Belorussian (also called White Russian or White Ruthenian) has about ten million speakers, mostly in the Belorussian SSR, but with small minorities in Poland and in Soviet Lithuania. It is the national language of the Belorussian nation

and the official language of the Bielorussian Soviet Socialist Republic.

West Slavic

Polish has about thirty-three million speakers practically all in the Polish republic, though there are small minorities in the USSR and in Czechoslovakia. It is the national and official language of Poland and the vehicle of a highly developed literature with a long written tradition.

Czech has about ten million speakers almost all within the Czechoslovak republic in the historic Czech lands of Bohemia, Moravia, and the Czech portion of Silesia. It is the national language of the Czech nation with a literary tradition dating back to the Middle Ages and is, along with closely related Slovak, an official language of the Czechoslovak republic.

Slovak, with about four million speakers, is the other (along with Czech) official language of the Czechoslovak republic. The bulk of Slovak speakers are in Slovakia (the eastern half of Czechoslovakia) with minority settlements in Hungary and the Yugoslav Vojvodina.

Sorbian (or Lusatian Wendish) is spoken by about 150,000 persons in East Germany. It actually comprises two related languages -- Upper Sorbian spoken in southern (or Saxon) Lusatia (German Lausitz, Slavic Lužice) around Bautzen (Slavic Budyšin) and Lower Sorbian spoken in northern (or Prussian)

Lusatia around Kottbus (Slavic Chóšebuz). The Sorbians, who during the Nazi period were subjected to considerable pressure to give up their language, are now almost all bilingual and the Sorbian languages are losing ground. However in present East Germany, Sorbian enjoys semi-official status in Sorbian areas. Sorbian is taught in the school system and books and publications appear in both varieties of Sorbian.

EXTERNAL HISTORY OF THE INDIVIDUAL SLAVIC LANGUAGES

Church Slavic

Church Slavic in its original form, called Old Church Slavic, represents the language used by Sts. Cyril and Methodius in translating portions of the Bible and liturgical works for the benefit of the Slavs.

Cyril (originally Constantine -- the name Cyril was adopted when he received monastic orders) and Methodius were brothers, Greeks from Salonika. In their youth they had probably acquired a fluent knowledge of the language of Slavic speaking tribes then inhabiting the immediate neighborhood of Salonika. They had already taken part in and successfully carried out a number of diplomatic and religious missions for the East Roman Emperor and in 863 they were sent to the court of Prince Rastislav of Moravia, at the latter's request for missionaries, to preach Christianity and incidentally strengthen Byzantine political influence. Their work was interrupted by intrigues carried on by rival, Rome oriented, German missionaries. Cyril eventually died in Rome while there in an effort (successful) to clarify their status with the Pope, but, under Rastislav's successor, Methodius and his disciples were eventually forced to leave Moravia. The followers settled in the newly Christianized Bulgarian State, Methodius having died on the way there.

Church Slavic then, from its very inception, was primarily a liturgical and literary language and was based on the dialect of the Slavs near Salonika, with possibly some influence from the dialect of Moravia, where a good deal of the translation was done. Though the work of Cyril and Methodius was brought to an abortive end in Moravia (liturgical use of Church Slavic lingered on for awhile in some areas of Bohemia and Moravia; see the section on Czech), their followers found a fertile field of activity at the Bulgarian court and in the monasteries founded near Ohrid in Macedonia (then part of the Bulgar State). The Bulgarian Czar, Simeon, was anxious to train a native Slavic speaking clergy in order to free himself from ecclesiastical dependence on Byzantium. As he himself had been educated in Constantinople, he was interested in making available the benefits of contemporary Byzantine culture to his people. Hence a considerable literature in Church Slavic took form, first consisting largely of translation from Greek originals, later with more and more original works. As other Slavic peoples were converted to Christianity, Church Slavic was introduced as the liturgical and literary language. Thus, the Russians and Serbs (and even the non-Slavic Rumanians) eventually adopted it. Of those Slavic countries which accepted Christianity from Rome, however, only in Croatia did Church Slavic take root. Elsewhere Latin was the liturgical language, as everywhere in the

Roman church. With the passage of time and the continued differentiation of the vernacular speech of the Slavic peoples, the vernacular tended to influence the local variety of Church Slavic in various ways, particularly in pronunciation. These local, or rather national, varieties of Church Slavic are termed "recensions". Thus we speak of a Bulgarian recension, a Serbian recension, a Croatian recension, and a Russian recension of Church Slavic. These recensions served as literary and official languages in the various countries throughout the Middle Ages and indeed up till the beginning of the 19th century, at first exclusively, later in increasing competition from the vernacular (this statement is less true of Croatia, where Latin was extensively used as well as Church Slavic).

After the conquest of the Balkan Slavs by the Ottoman Turks, the enormous prestige of Russia as the great and sole surviving Orthodox Slav power induced the Serbs and Bulgars to regard the Russian recension as "purer" and "more correct" than their own. This, along with importation of liturgical books from Russia, led to the introduction (in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries) of the Russian recension in place of the original Serbian and Bulgarian ones. Even the Roman Catholic church carried out a "reform" of its Church Slavic liturgical books used in Croatia to bring them into line with the Russian recension (a later reform, at the beginning of the present cen-

tury, returned them to a more nearly Croatian form). At the present time the Russian recension, pronounced in accord with the phonologies of the various national languages, is the liturgical language of the various Orthodox and Byzantine Catholic Churches of the Slavic nations (only the Ukrainian Orthodox Church uses the vernacular in its liturgy).

Church Slavic has exercised enormous influence on the development of the Russian standard language (and through Russian on Bulgarian), particularly in the realm of vocabulary. Church Slavic served as a source for borrowing abstract and specialized terms in a manner analogous to Latin for the various Western European languages. Thus golová 'head' vs. glavá 'chapter' (from Church Slavic), cf. English chapter from Latin caput 'head' (through French) and storoná 'side' vs. straná 'land', stranica 'page' (cf. German Seite meaning both side and page).

Slovenian

Certain brief religious writings (prayers, confessional formulae), the so-called Freising monuments (from the monastery in Freising, Bavaria, where they were discovered) constitute our oldest record of Slovenian speech. They are of an age almost contemporary with our sources of Old Church Slavic, but already show certain Slovenian features. They are in Latin letters and apparently represent translations made by German missionary priests from Old High German originals. Following the

Freising monuments however, we have few records of Slovenian speech until the end of the middle ages. We are told that in the coronation ceremony of the Dukes of Carinthia, in use through most of the middle ages, the Duke was required to repeat the oath "in windischer Sprache" (in the Slavic language). Certainly the Slovenian rural population and perhaps a portion of the townsmen were Slovenian speaking (the nobility were German or Germanized), but save for a few brief passages and notations, writing was in other languages (Latin, later German and Italian). Only with the protestant reformation did writing and publication really begin in Slovenian. The outstanding figure in this period is Primus Truber (in modern Slovenian Primož Trubar). Truber formed part of a group working on the estate of Baron Ungnad at Urach in Würtemberg, composed mainly of Slovenes and Croats engaged in turning out protestant literature in various South Slavic languages and interested in missionary work throughout the Balkans. A Bible translation was completed by Dalmatin and an elementary grammar by Bohorič. Protestant propaganda enjoyed a certain ephemeral success in Slovenia, but with the Catholic counter-reformation Slovenian literary production diminishes (in fact, the works of Urach group are today bibliographic rarities, in part because they were gathered up and destroyed by the ecclesiastic authorities).

Though the work of Truber and his associates proved ephemeral, it laid the foundations for the Slovenian literary language.

The nineteenth century saw the rise of Slovenian nationalism and the increasing assertion of Slovenian as a written language used in literature, education, and administration. Napoleon's short-lived "Illyrian province" apparently provided a powerful impetus for a movement already fostered by a small circle of intellectuals. New grammars of Slovenian were written and an orthography using the Latin alphabet supplemented by diacritics modeled on those used in Czech was adopted. At the height of the Illyrian movement some (notably Stanko Vraz) advocated adoption of Serbo-Croatian as the standard language in Slovenia, but this never caught on, the Slovenians preferring to retain their own standard language and national individuality.

Modern standard Slovenian is identical with no one dialect, though it is based on the speech of Lower Carniola (Truber was from Lower Carniola) and, as far as the spoken standard is concerned, may be considered identical with educated usage in the capital, Ljubljana.

Slovenian was at one time spoken much more widely than it is now, extending into parts of Pannonia and as far as Upper and Lower Austria. From the early middle ages it has lost ground to German and Magyar. Slovenian has long since been eliminated from those areas of Austria where it was once spoken (Upper and Lower Austria, Upper Styria, most of Carinthia) though the process of Germanization extended throughout the middle ages. It

has already been mentioned that in the middle ages the nobility and most of the townspeople in the Slovenian lands were German speaking. This condition persisted right up to and into the nineteenth century. With the great increase in urbanization which began then and drew on the Slovenian countryside, coupled with the revival of Slovenian national consciousness, the urban population began to take on a more Slovenian character. This process was, of course, rapidly accelerated with the inclusion of Slovenia in the newly formed Yugoslav state after World War I and may now be regarded as complete, so that the city of Maribor (Marburg a.d. Drau), which was predominantly German speaking in 1918, is now almost entirely Slovenian.

Serbo-Croatian

When the Slavic ancestors of the Serbs and Croats settled in the Balkans they found a native, mainly Latin-speaking, population. In the interior this population retreated to the less accessible mountainous regions, where they lived as pastoralists (the "Vlachs" of the medieval Serbian documents). These people were gradually assimilated (there are still remnants of this Rumanian speaking population in Macedonia, Albania, and parts of Greece). On the coast the city population had a slightly different Romanic dialect. Little by little the Serbo-Croatian and to a lesser extent Venetian replaced the native Romanic dialect of the Dalmatian coast. The last speaker of Dalmato-Romanic

died late in the nineteenth century on the island of Krk (Veglia). The Roman population which the Slavs assimilated in the Balkans has contributed both to the racial composition and the cultural heritage of the present-day Yugoslavs, particularly on the coast. In many branches of vocabulary, Serbo-Croatian has borrowed from Vulgar Latin and Dalmato-Romanic (this is particularly true in the vocabulary of technical fields which the Slavs did not command when they arrived in the Balkans, e.g. stone architecture, fishing, maritime pursuits, etc.).

Until the nineteenth century there was no unified Serbo-Croatian standard language, but varieties of Serbo-Croatian speech were used for formal purposes (writing, oral literature, administration) at various times and places before then. In the Serbian lands the Serbian recension of Church Slavic was written throughout the middle ages, being employed both for religious and secular (literary in the narrow sense, official) purposes. When used for secular purposes it was often very heavily colored by vernacular elements.

The Croats had their recension of Church Slavic, which they used for liturgical and religious works, but early began to use the spoken language (in the specific case dialects from the Adriatic coast) written with glagolitic characters for such secular purposes as letters, contracts, decrees, statutes, and secular romances .

With the coming of the renaissance the glagolitic letters tended to be abandoned in favor of a Latin orthography (based on Italian orthographic conventions). This period also saw the flowering of a great vernacular literature in the Adriatic coastal cities under the influence of the Italian renaissance and humanism. The activities of the Urach group, who published in glagolitic, Cyrillic, and Latin characters, have already been mentioned (under Slovenian). In other areas of Croatia too (e.g. Slavonia in the seventeenth century, Zagreb) writing and publication in the vernacular, using the Latin script, began. At this time too, Franciscan friars, ministering to the Catholics in Bosnia, fostered a Serbo-Croatian literature, largely religious in content, written usually in Cyrillic characters.

Serbian cultural development meanwhile had received a tremendous setback due to the Turkish conquest of the Serbian lands. However, those Serbs who had taken refuge in the Habsburg domains in Southern Hungary (the Vojvodina), after their reconquest from the Turks in the seventeenth century, participated in the general stream of European cultural development. The rising urban class felt the need for a better means of written expression than the now archaic Serbian recension of Church Slavic (which was at this time being replaced by the Russian recension). When writing was done, it was done in various mixtures of Church Slavic and the vernacular (Slavjano-Serbski) or

Russian, Church Slavic, and the vernacular (Rusko-Slavjano-Serbski) using, of course, the Church Slavic Cyrillic writing system. This part vernacular, part archaic, and part foreign writing system was felt to be inadequate and various writers (notably Dositej Obradović, a typical representative of the European age of enlightenment) tried to write in a language closer to that actually spoken.

The stage was set for the work of Vuk Karadžić. A self-taught Serbian scholar, working with the guidance and encouragement of Jernej Kopitar, a Slovenian linguist-philologist of the time, he urged a standard language as close to the spoken language as possible (Vuk's dictum was Piši kako govoriš, govori kako pišeš "Write as you speak and speak as you write"). Vuk also propounded an orthographic reform involving the elimination of certain letters and addition of certain others to the Church Slavic Cyrillic alphabet in order to make possible a consistent and accurate representation of the sounds of Serbo-Croatian speech. Vuk's reforms aroused considerable opposition as proposals for reform of fundamental institutions generally do. They were viewed by some as a subtle maneuver designed to convert the Serbs to Catholicism or else to pervert religion and Holy Writ in general. (Actually there was a political, not religious, motivation involved. Kopitar was a high official in the Imperial Austro-Hungarian civil service interested in wean-

ing the Serbs away from Russian influence and felt that Vuk's reforms might be a step in this direction). Despite the opposition, Vuk's reforms rapidly gained favor and were adopted.

In Croatia the use of Latin letters had supplanted the older glagolitic script, but there was no unified orthography. The Dalmatian writers had used an orthography based on the Italian, while those of Croatia proper used an orthography based on the older Hungarian writing system. Nor was there a unified standard language. Some writers from Dalmatia used the čakavski dialect. Writers from Ragusa used an ijekevski dialect. Those from the Zagreb region used the kajkavski dialect.

The period following the Napoleonic wars saw a rise of romantic nationalism in many parts of Europe. Croatia was no exception. The local expression of this trend was the so-called Illyrian movement which aimed at the cultural and perhaps political union of all South Slavs. One of the leading proponents of this movement was Ljudevit Gaj, a writer and publicist in Zagreb. Gaj proposed (and adopted in the newspaper he published) a reformed Latin alphabet adapted to the rendition of Serbo-Croatian speech sounds by the addition of diacritics modeled on those of Czech. At the same time Gaj advocated the adoption of a standard language based, like Vuk's, on the Herzegovinan dialect, which also was very similar to the classic Ragusan literature. Gaj's reforms, like Vuk's, met with con-

siderable opposition, but, also like Vuk's, they were adopted.

As a result of Vuk's and Gaj's reforms Serbs and Croats now had a single standard language. Subsequent agreements between Croatian and Serbian representatives brought the two orthographies, Latin and Cyrillic, into almost complete conformity with each other, so that in terms of letters there is practically a one to one correspondence between two versions of a Serbo-Croatian text written one in the Cyrillic and the other in the Latin orthography. The passage of time since Vuk's and Gaj's day has seen a further leveling of differences between standard Serbo-Croatian as used in the various Serbo-Croatian areas. There are now two recognized varieties of the standard language: "ekavski" in which the reflex of CS1./ě/is/ě, e/ (mlěkó, lěto) and "ijekavski" where it is /ije, je/ (mlijékó, ljéto). The former is used in Serbia, the latter in Croatia, Bosnia-Hercegovina and Montenegro. There are local differences in vocabulary and syntactic usage, of course, but the difference between the standard language as spoken and written in, say Belgrade and Zagreb, is no greater than the difference between British and American usage in English or between the German of Berlin and Vienna. In 1954 representatives of the Serbian and Croatian academies and linguistic associations signed a further agreement designed to unify punctuation, grammatical terminology, and certain matters of usage throughout the Serbo-Croatian area.

With the establishment in 1814 of an independent Serbian principality, Serbo-Croatian of course attained the position of sole language of official and public life, as was also the case in Montenegro. In nineteenth-century Croatia the situation was different. Much of the urban population was German speaking, while the nobility was in part Magyarized. Latin continued as the official language well into the 19th century (largely because the Croatian diet knew that if they voted to abolish Latin as the official language, Hungarian, not Croatian, would be imposed in its place). In Dalmatia, Italian was the written language of the educated and urban population. Even the Croatian national party in Dalmatia saw fit to publish its organ, Il Nazionale, in Italian for a time. However, with the passage of time, Croats were able to assert their language in more and more spheres of national life, successfully resisting the imposition of Hungarian in Croatia and Slavonia and introducing Serbo-Croatian in education, publishing, and administration in Dalmatia. After World War I, Serbs and Croats were united in one state and after World War II the annexation of Istria brought the last extensive Serbo-Croatian speaking minority within the bounds of Yugoslavia.

The influence of Balkan Latin and Dalmato-Romanic on the Serbo-Croatian lexicon has been mentioned. There has also been extensive borrowing from Greek, particularly by the Serbs, from

the introduction of Orthodox Christianity with its attendant Byzantine influence up into the nineteenth century. Typical borrowings from Greek include: trpeza < τράπεζα 'table', jeftino < εὐθηνός 'cheap', hiljada < χιλιάδες 'thousand', kaludjer < καλόγηρος 'monk', manastir < μοναστήριον 'monastery', etc.

The Turkish conquest caused a flood of loan words from Turkish, particularly in those areas under Turkish rule. Examples are: boja 'color', hajde 'let's go', lula 'pipe', rakija 'brandy'. Italian loans are most frequent in the coastal dialects, but some have penetrated into the standard language. Such include: pijaca 'market' < piazza 'square', rižot 'risotto', ruža 'rose' < rosa, ormar, orman 'cupboard' < armadio, armario. Contact with Hungarians in Croatia and the Vojvodina lead to the borrowing of a certain number of Magyar terms such as varoš 'city, town', salaš 'farm', šargarepa 'carrot', vašar 'fair, market'. As might be supposed, German influence has been very strong, not only in words actually borrowed, but in the patterns of formation of native words to translate or replace foreign words. Some examples are: baklja 'torch' < Fackel, šunka 'ham' < Schinken, šrav 'screw' < Schraube, grof 'count' < Graf, tepih 'carpet' < Teppich, peglati 'to iron clothes' < bügeln, krumpir 'potato' < Grundbirne, šporet (Serbian), špاهر (Croatian) 'kitchen-stove' < Sparherd. Serbo-Croatian shows relatively few borrowings from

Church Slavic (compared to say Russian or Bulgarian). Such as do occur are mainly used by Serbs and often refer to matters connected with the Orthodox church, e.g. odežda 'priestly vestments', vazduh 'air', vasiona 'universe'. There are a few borrowings from Russian and Czech and a fair number from French (rešo 'hot-plate' < rechaud, lavabo 'washstand', restoran 'restaurant'), and English (štrajk 'strike', boks 'boxing', džez 'jazz', vikend 'weekend', spiker 'radio-announcer', tenk 'tank').

Though in the main Serbo-Croatian like the other Slavic languages builds abstract and specialized vocabulary from native roots, there are the usual 'international' words, usually from Latin and Greek roots common to most European languages, e.g. lingvistika 'linguistics', kontrolirati 'to control or check', tifus 'typhoid fever'.

Macedonian

The first Macedonian standard language was of course Old Church Slavic, based as it was upon the speech of Macedonian Slavs near Salonica.

Throughout the middle ages the Bulgarian or Serbian recensions of Church Slavic served as a standard language in Macedonia, with competition from Greek during periods of Byzantine ascendancy. During the period of Turkish rule the Greek element in the ecclesiastical organization was greatly strengthened and the town population became predominantly Turkish and Greek

speaking. Such was the situation until the latter part of the nineteenth century. During the nineteenth century examples of the speech of the Macedonian Slavs began to appear. One of our first documents, published in 1764, is the "Lexicon tetraglosson" of Hadži-Daniil of Moskopolje (Moskopoli, Voskopoja), a glossary and phrase-book in Greek, Albanian, Macedo-Rumanian and Macedonian, all four languages being transcribed in Greek characters. Vuk published some folksongs from Polog in Macedonia (he called them Bulgarian folksongs, as Hadži-Daniil called the Slavic dialect he transcribed Bulgarian). We have other glossaries and specimens of folk-literature from this period, as well as a number of liturgical books transcribed in various churches in the local dialect using Greek characters. During most of the nineteenth century it was customary to refer to the Macedonians as Bulgarians and many Macedonians wrote in Bulgarian publications and participated in Bulgarian public life (others regarded themselves as Greeks and became thoroughly Hellenized). A sense of Macedonian individuality gradually arose. The Miladinov brothers published a collection of Macedonian folk songs (they entitled them "Bulgarian folk songs") with the encouragement of the Croatian patriot Bishop Strossmayer (it was originally intended to publish these texts in Greek characters, but Bishop Strossmayer persuaded the Miladinovs to use Cyrillic characters). The late nineteenth and early twentieth century saw an

end to the Greek monopoly in Macedonian church and education, but brought a turbulent period in which Greeks, Bulgars, and Serbs struggled for supremacy by means of schools, propaganda, and armed bands. The Balkan wars brought Turkish rule to a close and most of Macedonia was annexed to Serbia. Serbo-Croatian was imposed as the standard language and the local speech tolerated only in private communication and dialect literature. In that part of Macedonia annexed to Greece repression of local Slavic speech was (and continues to be) far more severe.

During the second world war, Yugoslav Macedonia was constituted as a separate federal unit in the Yugoslav state and Macedonian became its official language. In the years immediately following the war a standard Macedonian language, the last Slavic language to attain that status, took form. An official orthography (based on Serbian Cyrillic) was promulgated and grammars have been published. The new standard language is based on the widely spoken central dialect of the Bitola-Prilep-Veles-Kiševo area.

As may be supposed from its history, a very large number of loanwords from Greek and Turkish have been taken into Macedonian, as have a certain number of Russian and Church Slavic loans (apparently through Bulgarian) and not a few loans from Serbo-Croatian.

Bulgarian

Church Slavic in its Bulgarian recension served as the standard language throughout the Middle Ages. Medieval Bulgarian Church Slavic does show more or less trace of the popular speech, depending on the writer and the subject matter treated. In the later Middle Ages and early modern times compendia of devotional and edifying writings called damaskini (because the earlier ones were translations of a similar collection in Greek made by a monk, one Damaskinos the Studite) began to be written in a language very closely approaching the popular speech of the time. As with the Serbs, the Turkish conquest had caused an enormous setback in the cultural development of the Bulgars. The church above the parish level became Hellenized. Few persons other than the clergy were literate in Church Slavic or Bulgarian. An observer (Jurij Venelin) stated in the early nineteenth century that only one person in the city of Varna knew the Cyrillic alphabet (those who were literate wrote in Turkish or Greek). The usual, if not the native, language of the urban population in Bulgaria was Greek or Turkish.

As elsewhere in Europe however, the nineteenth century brought a national awakening among the Bulgars. The first modern Bulgarian book (it remained in manuscript form and was never published) was a history of the Slavs (adapted from a Russian translation of an Italian original by a Ragusan, Mauro Orbini)

written by one Father Paisij, a monk of the monastery Hilendar on Mt. Athos. Paisij's work was written in a curious mixture of vernacular Bulgarian and Church Slavic. Peter Beron first published (1824) an elementary textbook in the popular language. The first grammar of modern Bulgarian was published by American missionaries in the 1840's. Originally there was considerable divergence as to the orthography and grammar of standard Bulgarian. Some writers wished to retain the declensional systems of Russian or Church Slavic (which exist in no spoken variety of Bulgarian). Eventually it was decided that the eastern variety of the vernacular, probably because of the prestige of the early writers and public figures, many of whom were from northeastern or central Bulgaria and spoke the eastern variety, should form the basis for the Bulgarian standard language (choice of an eastern dialect as the basis for standard Bulgarian may have given some impetus to the movement for a Macedonian language separate from Bulgarian, since Eastern Bulgarian is of course the variety of Bulgarian most different from Macedonian). The writing system went through a number of reforms, the most recent one being after World War II, marking a gradual transformation from Church Slavic orthographic conventions to an orthography more nearly suited to the rendition of Bulgarian speech sounds. Bulgarian orthography does not so nearly approach the ideal as does that of Serbo-Croatian, but a great deal of progress has

been made.

Bulgarian, like Macedonian, contains a very large number of Turkish and Greek loanwords. In the nineteenth century many of these were consciously replaced, under the influence of the national revival, by native formations or by loans from Russian, but their number is still appreciable. As Bulgaria underwent a strong Russian influence at the time of the formation of the modern standard language in the nineteenth century, there are a very great many Russian loanwords. Church Slavic loans, either direct or through Russian, are also numerous.

Russian

When the Eastern Slavs of Kievan Rus' accepted Christianity late in the tenth century, Old Church Slavic works of a religious character were imported from already Christianized Slavic areas, particularly from the Bulgarian empire and to a lesser extent from Moravia. Though Old Church Slavic was not identical with the current vernacular of the Eastern Slavs, it was quite close, so that it was easily understood and came to be adopted as the official and ecclesiastical language. Old Church Slavic works very soon began to be copied by East Slavic scribes, who introduced features of their own speech into the texts. The Ostromir gospels, one of our earliest dated Slavic documents, was copied on Russian soil, in Novgorod in 1057, and already shows East Slavic features.

Eventually a variety of language closer to the speech of the Eastern Slavs begins to appear in documents, especially those of legal or official nature, while liturgical texts remain essentially Old Church Slavic. The former type of language is called Old Russian; we have Old Russian texts beginning from the eleventh century. At the same time Old Russian was being used for private letters and records, incised on birch bark. Russian archeologists have discovered such documents from the period of the eleventh to the fourteenth centuries. Finally, mention should be made of some pottery shards, dated from the tenth century, bearing writing in Old Russian.

The destruction of Kiev by the Mongols c. 1240 caused a shift of the cultural and political center of medieval Eastern Slavdom to the north and east. Ultimately the principality of Muscovy gained ascendancy in that area and its capital, Moscow, set the standard for Russian speech. Modern Standard Russian is not identical with any one dialect, but is ultimately based on the speech of the Moscow region. To the South and West, Ukrainian and Bielorrussian developed within the political framework of the Polish-Lithuanian state.

Church Slavic, of course, continued as the liturgical language in all the East Slavic lands and most Old Russian works show more or less admixture of Old Church Slavic forms. Latin,

Toward the end of the sixteenth century came the foundation of an Orthodox academy by Peter Mohýla in Kiev modeled after the very successful Jesuit academies in the Polish state, where the then modern western learning was taught. Ukrainian and even Moldavian (Rumanian) scholars from this academy or from other western oriented schools migrated to Moscow, where some attained high rank in the ecclesiastical organization. These people had their influence in the developing Russian Standard language and were instrumental in the introduction of the loans mentioned above as well as the rendition of the letter г as /h/ (a feature of Ukrainian pronunciation) in a few words connected with religious or church matters.

Russia was not long content with an indirect contact with the West and a new course was undertaken with the reign of Peter the Great. This monarch made a sharp break with Russia's medieval past, opening his "window to the West" by his conquests on the Baltic coast and the establishment there of a new capital St. Petersburg (now Leningrad). Peter imported numerous western cultural and technological items and institutions into Russia. His reign, in language development too, marks the end of the Old Russian period. Under Peter's direction a reform of the alphabet was undertaken in which the Church Slavic manuscript style letters were replaced by a new typeface modeled on Western European alphabets (note that the

Cyrillic alphabet was retained -- it was only the style of the letters which was changed in imitation of Western models). Peter's encouragement of secular and western influences caused a weakening of the Church Slavic tradition and a consequent increase in the influence of the Russian vernacular in the written language. Church Slavic was now restricted to strictly ecclesiastical usage -- it was no longer a written language for secular or learned purposes.

Following Peter's death (1725) Russian writers struggled to establish a literary language, drawing upon the resources of the spoken language. Trediakóvskij attempted to combine Church Slavic with the vernacular -- an essay which was not crowned with success. The many-sided scholar Lomonósov in 1755 published the first Russian (as distinct from Church Slavic) grammar, a grammar which laid the groundwork for all subsequent Russian grammars inasfar as they followed the traditional (pre-structural) mold. Lomonósov propounded the doctrine of three styles: a high style with considerable admixture of Church Slavic elements (Lomonósov wrote his poems in this style), a middle style reflecting educated spoken usage (he wrote his scientific works in this style) and a low style containing colloquial words "not found in the church books". Later writers tended to draw more and more on colloquial usage. Karamzín in the late eighteenth century forged a new style based on French models, while Krylów

and Puškin adopted many more elements from popular speech. Thus the Russian literary language was forged -- a fusion of Church Slavonic and western elements with a predominance of material from the Russian vernacular. The development of the Russian (as distinct from Church Slavic) literary language began early and was gradual without any sharp breaks in the tradition (such as were experienced by some of the other Slavic nations). The nineteenth century -- the great age of Russian literature -- further developed the literary language. The nineteenth century literary language, by the way, though very similar to contemporary Russian, is not identical with either the present-day literary or colloquial standards.

The territory occupied by Russian speakers has expanded continuously since the late middle ages, particularly during the push through Siberia to the Pacific in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Despite the vast extent of the Russian speech area, dialect differences are not great compared with other European languages. Contact with Turkic peoples, from the time of the Tatar conquest and before, led to the adoption of many loans from various Turkic languages. The widespread adoption of western techniques and institutions starting with Peter the Great led to a great influx of words from German and French, and later on, from English. Under Peter too, many maritime words were borrowed from Dutch.

In the twentieth century the social upheaval attendant upon the Bolshevik revolution made itself felt in the language, principally in the form of a host of neologisms to designate new institutions -- words often made up of initials (thus GUM gosudárstvennyj universál'nyj magazin 'State universal store') or by telescoping elements of larger constructs (filfák from filosófskij fakultét 'philosophical faculty'). The older prevailing standard pronunciation, based upon the speech of the upper classes in Moscow, has tended to give way to the so-called Leningrad standard, which tends to favor spelling pronunciation and is hence easier of acquisition to members of the new Soviet elite, many of whom were not originally native speakers of any standard variety of Russian.

Finally there should be mentioned a minor spelling reform which took place after the revolution (but following recommendations already made previous to the revolution) and may be supplemented by a further reform recently under discussion.

Ukrainian

The first East Slavic literary language -- the language of Kievan Rus' (often called Old Russian -- Russian in this sense meaning pertaining to Rus', the land of the ancient East Slavs, rather than modern Russia) which was used as a written language in documents, usually of a legal or governmental nature, had as its major center the city of Kiev in

the modern Ukraine. The Mongol invasions (thirteenth century) devastated the flourishing Kievan culture and left the kingdom of Halič in the Western Ukraine as the center of Southern East Slavic culture, while in the northeast a new political and cultural center, Moscow, gradually replaced the old North Russian center of Novgorod. The principality of Halič (which has given its name to Galicia) was absorbed into the rising Polish-Lithuanian state, one of the two great powers (along with Muscovy) of late medieval and early modern Eastern Europe. Specific Ukrainian features early began to appear in documents from the Ukrainian area and somewhat later entered into the so called "руська мова" (Rus' language, also called Old West Russian), which for a time was the official language of the Principality of Lithuania. After definitive union with Poland however (1569), the upper classes in the Polish-Lithuanian state came to be more and more Polonized and Polish tended to replace Old West Russian as the official language. The Ukrainian language of the common people appeared but rarely; chiefly in the so-called "interludes" -- humorous episodes in the local vernacular inserted between the acts, as comic relief, of serious Latin dramas staged by students at the Jesuit-run schools and academies in the Ukrainian lands. Following the conquest of more and more of the former Poland by Russia at the time of Peter the Great and his successors, many Ukrainian scholars who

had been formed in the then more advanced Polish schools migrated to Moscow and proved an important element in the transmittal of modern Western ideas to Russia. This influence is felt in the transmittal of a number of cultural words from Western languages first through Polish, then Ukrainian, to Russian and in the pronunciation of Church Slavic which renders ѣ as h, Ukrainian-fashion.

The first attempts to revive the Ukrainian literary language are in the late eighteenth century, when Iván Kotljárév-skyj, a landowner, wrote a parody of the Aeneid in Ukrainian. In the nineteenth century, he was followed by a number of Ukrainian writers, the greatest of whom was Tarás Ševčénko. The literary use of Ukrainian was, however, repressed in the Russian Empire, particularly during the increasing absolutist nationalism of the nineteenth century, so that for a time, the center of Ukrainian cultural activity shifted to the Ukrainian lands under Austrian rule, to Galicia with its capital L'viv (Lemberg, Lwów). Here Iván Frankó and others worked in relative freedom, and here, cut off by censorship from the East Ukraine, a variety of Ukrainian standard language took form differing slightly from the Eastern variety, which was based on the speech of the Kiev-Poltava area. With the Russian revolution of 1905 however, it became possible to print in Ukrainian again in the Russian Empire and with the establishment of a Ukrainian nationalist

republic, shortly afterward overthrown and replaced by a Ukrainian Soviet Republic, Ukrainian became a fully recognized official language -- now one of the official regional languages of the Soviet Union. Soviet conquest after World War II united to Soviet Ukraine Ukrainian territories formerly part of Poland, Czechoslovakia and Rumania, so that the language now has one standard literary form.

Bielorussian

The formation of the Bielorussian nation dates from the establishment of Lithuania's rule over the Bielorussian lands, thus cutting them off from Slavic lands to the East and orienting them toward Poland. Here as in the Ukraine, the Old West Russian language long was the language of public administration and here too local documents begin to show native Bielorussian features. As in the Ukraine, the "interludes" in school plays are among our first documents of the modern living language.

One of the earliest Bibles printed in a modern Slavic language was the translation of F. Skaryna, which appeared in Prague in 1517-19. It had however little influence (unlike the Czech Králice Bible) in the development of a national language, since the Bielorussian clergy was poorly educated, the middle class practically non-existent, while the upper class -- the only group with access to education -- tended to be absorbed

into the Polish or Russian nationalities, depending on whether their religious sympathies lay with the Roman Catholic or Eastern Orthodox Church.

Aside from such early harbingers as the Bielorussian verses of A. Rýmša (sixteenth century, in Polish spelling), little was written in Bielorussian until the nineteenth century. Early in the nineteenth century one V. Róvinskij published a parody of the Aeneid (in imitation of Kotljarevskyj's Ukrainian parody) and thereafter writers in Bielorussian begin to appear, publishing frequently in Polish orthography. A true Bielorussian nationalist movement can hardly be said to have come into existence before the twentieth century however, when a group of writers around the periodical Naša Niva constituted a Bielorussian literary and nationalist group. After World War I, Bielorussian became an official language and remains so today in the Bielorussian Soviet Republic.

Polish

Though there is some historical evidence of liturgical use of Old Church Slavic (steming from the Moravian tradition) in Poland, it never took root in Polish soil and was early overshadowed by the use of Latin as the liturgical language, and in general the language of learning and public affairs. Only the old Polish hymn Bogurodzica (like the Czech hymn Hospodine, pomiluj ny) points to a Church Slavic original

and thus gives indirect evidence of liturgical use of Old Church Slavic among the Poles.

Our earliest evidence of the Polish vernacular consists of Polish words (chiefly place and personal names) embedded in the texts of twelfth century documents written in Latin. Complete Polish texts appear later, in the following century; our oldest extensive documents are psalters and collections of sermons of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

The deeply rooted habit of writing in Latin and the high prestige of that language in medieval Poland rather hindered the development of a vernacular literature, though each century saw an increasing number of native documents. In the later Middle Ages city records of a number of towns appear in Polish. At the same time, an oral court language, divorced from any specifically regional dialect, was being formed at the royal capital, which was originally in northwest Poland, then later in Kraków. The prestige and influence of the Old Czech language was very high in medieval Poland, and resulted in the borrowing of a number of words connected with the Christian liturgy, as well as a number of cultural words such as jedwab 'silk'. Many of the medieval Polish towns were settled by German speaking burghers and the number of loans from German is correspondingly large: kształt < Gestalt 'form', krochmal < Kraftmehl 'starch', meldunek < Meldung 'report' are but a few. The prestige of Latin occasioned many borrowings from that lan-

guage and strong cultural ties with Italy (going back to a Polish queen of Italian origin in the late Middle Ages, who brought many of her countrymen with her) resulted in a number of Italian loans such as pomidory 'tomatoes'. Many of these loans were later passed on to Ukrainian and some of them ultimately to Russian.

The fifteenth century saw the translation of the Bible into Polish -- on a Czech model -- the Sarospatak Bible. Other Polish literary documents are extant from this century, both in prose and verse; a number are reworkings of Czech originals, testifying to the continuing influence of Czech literary culture on Poland. Legal and court documents appear in the native tongue, and these are generally closer to the everyday language of the people.

The following (sixteenth) century saw the flowering of early Polish literature, with authors like Mikołaj Rej and Jan Kochanowski. In this era, following the legal union of the Polish kingdom with the principality of Lithuania, the use of Polish spread to the upper classes and official circles of the latter area, which then included a large part of the Ukraine and Bielorussia. Polonization in language, culture, and religion (conversion from Orthodox or Byzantine Catholic to Roman Catholic) led to an alienation of the feudal nobility in these regions from the mass of Lithuanian, Bielorussian, or Ukrainian

speaking common people. This development did however introduce a few East Slavic elements into the Polish common language, from the speech of the Polonized nobility of the eastern provinces. Latin influence continued strong in Poland and in the Polish language, reinforced by a network of excellent schools maintained by the Jesuits (these incidentally were a powerful factor in the Polonization of the upper classes of the Eastern provinces mentioned above).

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the Polish literary tradition continued. Poland, though declining as a political power and eventually to be partitioned among its neighbors, did not suffer the catastrophe that the Czech lands did in the Thirty Years War, whereby almost the entire Czech upper class and intelligentsia were wiped out. The Poles managed to retain their native leadership and educated class even with the loss of national independence. Both in the areas annexed by Austria and by Russia the local Polish nobility maintained its social and economic position, so that the use of Polish in religious and public life was able to continue. Later the situation changed in the areas annexed by Russia and a campaign of Russianization was pressed in the nineteenth century.

In the second half of the eighteenth century, partly because of dynastic ties, a strong French influence took root

among the Polish nobility. France was, of course, at this time the leading cultural force of Europe and her influence was widely felt in other countries as well, e.g. Germany and Russia. French cultural ties flourished in Poland and were further cemented by Napoleon's expeditions in which many Poles took part, and by Polish sympathy for French republican ideals.

The nineteenth century saw a continuation of Polish letters, cultivated by numerous great writers, including Mickiewicz, Słowacki, and Sienkiewicz. Though increasing Russian absolutism tended more and more to restrict the sphere of Polish in the public life of Russian Poland, Polish culture could still be freely cultivated in Austrian Poland, where a Polish Academy was constituted in Cracow. Also worthy of mention is Polish lexicographical activity, which gave birth to a number of fine dictionaries, starting with that of Linde in the early nineteenth century. The history of the Polish written and literary language, though beginning slightly later than that of most of the other Slavic nations, shows a more or less natural course of development, without the hiatuses -- periods when cultivation of the native language was choked off by various political developments -- which appear in the history of many of the Slavic tongues.

Czech

Following the triumph of Cyril and Methodius's opponents in Great Moravia in the reign of Světopřek (Svātopluk), while

the bulk of their followers took refuge in the Bulgarian empire, a smaller number migrated westward into Bohemia where the Slavic liturgical tradition, though always overshadowed by the Latinist tradition, took root. The primary center of Slavic liturgical and literary activity was constituted at the Benedictine abbey of Sázava (near Prague), founded 1032 by St. Procopius (Prokop -- died 1053). The monks of Sázava were not permitted to continue the Slavic tradition undisturbed. After a temporary exile (1057-1065) they were shortly after expelled for good, replaced by Latin monks, and the Slavic books burned. For this reason the activity of the Sázava group is very sparsely represented in surviving documents. Literary works of this school are Saints' lives, of St. Wenceslas (Václav, died 935) preserved in later copies and versions in Latin or in Russian or Croatian Church Slavic, of St. Vitus (Vít, successor to St. Procopius as abbot of Sázava) preserved in a Russian Cyrillic copy from the twelfth century, and of St. Procopius, which has been lost altogether. The only immediate (i.e. not transmitted through copies or versions) relics of the Sázava period are the Prague fragments, a few surviving pages of a liturgical work dating from the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Following the Moravian tradition, those who wrote Church Slavic in the Czech lands used the glagolitic alphabet. The well known Czech hymn Hospodine, pomiluj ny, first recorded in a thirteenth century document,

evidently derives from a Church Slavic original of about this period. The Church Slavic liturgical tradition was reinstituted under Charles IV, who in 1347 founded the Slavic monastery of Emaus in the Prague Malá Strana, where the Slavic liturgy survived until the seventeenth century. Here the Church Slavic tradition was reintroduced by monks from Croatia and later carried on by native Bohemians. The Church Slavic tradition, though it did not strike the deep and lasting roots that it did in the East, still laid the groundwork for the development of a written literature in the native vernacular. Too, there were relations between the Church Slavic tradition of these Czech lands and that of the Eastern Slavs, as evidenced by the copies of documents of Moravian or Czech provenience made in ancient Russia and by the Moravian Church Slavic fragments found there.

In the thirteenth century we find the first texts -- using the Latin alphabet -- in the Old Czech vernacular; the following century already shows a remarkable flowering of vernacular letters in the Czech lands. The first attempts at vernacular writing were glosses in Latin documents. These were quickly followed by translations of portions of the Bible, especially the Psalter and the Gospels (The first whole Bible translation dates from the fourteenth century). Hymns, carols, and saints' lives are also found.

From the thirteenth century western European -- particularly German -- influences were strongly felt in Bohemia. Western feudalism replaced the Old Slavic social order and the customs and institutions of western chivalry were introduced. German colonization was encouraged, particularly the immigration of German artisans, tradesmen, and miners. From the mid-thirteenth century German Minnesänger frequent the courts of Czech rulers and German was widely spoken there. King Wenceslas II († 1305) composed German verse. Shortly thereafter the house of Luxemburg replaced the native Přemyslide dynasty on the Bohemian throne; as the name indicates, their ancestral lands lay upon the Franco-German cultural and linguistic frontier and with the Luxemburgs a French cultural influence is added to that of Germany. (John of Bohemia, the first Luxemburg king, died fighting for the French at Crécy; his son Charles IV was raised in Paris).

All this had its effect on the development of vernacular writing, as in other aspects of the culture. The motifs and forms of German courtly poetry were borrowed. Knightly epics and prose romances were written, translating or reworking material common to all the literatures of medieval Europe -- Alexander the Great, Apollonius of Tyre, the legend of Troy, and the like. Lyric verse in the manner of the Minnesänger (a style deriving ultimately from the Provençal troubadours)

was also written. A university, one of the oldest north of the Alps, was founded at Prague in 1347 by Charles IV.

Czech scholars studying at Paris and Oxford were influenced by the ideas of the critics of the then prevailing ecclesiastical organization. The ideas of John Wycliff, the English reformer and Bible translator (c.1330-1384) in particular found fertile soil in Bohemia and the ground was prepared for the work of the great religious reformer, preacher, and writer, John Hus (Jan Hus). The ecclesiastical and theological aspect of Hus's work, which had general European importance, and which ultimately led to his burning at the stake in Constance in 1415, cannot be treated here.

Hus has however another importance; his influence on the development of the Czech literary language, first as a popular preacher, then as a writer. Hus strove to use words of native origin where possible, rather than borrowings from German or Latin. Of greater significance, he undertook a systematization of Czech spelling conventions, hitherto rather chaotic, introducing the convention of marking long vowels with an accent mark and writing the sounds š ž č with a diacritic mark above the letter (Hus himself wrote dots above the letter -- the present wedge-shaped diacritics were substituted later). The Hussite movement early took on a nationalist (Czech) and social-revolutionary (peasants and burghers against feudal overlords) signifi-

cance and after Hus's death occasioned a period of bitter warfare which affected neighboring lands as well and ended with the Utraquists (the Hussite religious group, which insisted on communion in both kinds for the laity) enjoying at least de facto toleration. Hussitism, a precursor of protestantism, emphasized the role of the laity in the church service and thus tended to spread literacy (reading of the Bible and religious literature) and to make the literary language the property of the people (hymns).

The sixteenth century brought humanism, with its revival of classical learning, the influence of the German reformation, and technical innovations, including printing. The first grammars of the Czech language appeared (Optát and Gzel) and the Bohemian brethren, a radical protestant (influenced by the Waldensians, rejecting the oath and military service) offshoot of the Utraquists undertook the publication of a biblical translation. The New Testament was translated by Jan Blahoslav and the Old Testament by a group of scholars. The complete Bible was published at Králice in Moravia at about the time the King James version was published in England. The Králice Bible served as a model for the future development of the Czech literary language, occupying a place in the history of the Czech language similar to that of the King James Bible for English or the Luther Bible for German.

The defeat of the Czech national forces at the White Mountain (Bílá Hora, 1620) initiated the Thirty Years' War, a period of devastation for most of Central Europe and particularly for the Czech lands, where the War began and where many of the campaigns were carried on. Its end brought the complete triumph of the Hapsburg rulers over Czech autonomy, the extinction of the leadership of the Czech nation and its replacement by a foreign, largely German-speaking, nobility, and the forcible emigration of all non-Catholics. These conditions resulted in the almost complete elimination of the Czech language from official usage, complete Germanization of the upper social levels, and a severe limitation of literary production in Czech. Czech letters in the next century and a half were largely limited to religious writings of the Catholic counter-reformation and some writing by Protestant Czechs in exile (Comenius -- Jan Amos Komenský, 1592-1660, is the outstanding example in the latter group). Throughout this period, Czech grammars appeared (Nudožerský 1603, Václav Rosa 1672, J. Pohl 1756).

The later eighteenth century, though marking a low point in the prestige and cultivation of Czech letters, initiated a new period in the material conditions of the Czech lands, largely due to reform measures instituted by Maria Theresa and her son Joseph II, the latter ruler abolishing serfdom and granting religious toleration.

The renaissance of the Czech language begins with the work of Dr. Joseph Dobrovský, a Catholic priest and the founder of modern Slavic philology. His principal works are a grammar of Czech (Ausführliches Lehrgebäude der böhmischen Sprache, 1809), a history of Czech letters (Geschichte der böhmischen Sprache und Literatur 1792), a German-Czech dictionary (Deutsch-böhmisches Wörterbuch, 1802-21), and a grammar of Old Church Slavic (Institutiones linguae slavicae dialecti veteris, 1822). Jungmann's extensive dictionary, modelled after Linde's Polish dictionary, followed. The nineteenth century saw the production of an extensive modern literature in the Czech language and a revival of Czech nationalism, the latter giving rise to a struggle to extend the role of the Czech language in public life. Increased public and official usage of Czech necessitated creation of extensive new vocabulary, largely by loan-translation from Latin or German (following the example of German which also uses compounding from native roots and loan-translation as a means of creating specialized vocabulary). Thus, divadlo 'theater' from dívat se 'to look' (cf. German Schauspielhaus 'theater' from schauen 'look'), vlák 'train' from vláčet 'to drag, pull' (cf. Fr. train, Ger. Zug from trainer and ziehen respectively, 'to pull'). Other words were borrowed from Russian or other Slavic languages, but given Czech form. Thus, vzduch 'air' from Russian воздух, itself

from Church Slavic vŭzduxŭ.

The establishment of the Czechoslovak republic after the first World War raised Czech to the status of principal official language (legally Slovak was co-equal in status, but both the numerical and educational preponderance of the Czech speakers gave Czech a certain priority) of that republic, for which development the Czech language was well prepared due to the work of Czech writers and scholars in the preceding century.

Dobrovský and other nineteenth century scholars codified the Czech literary language on the basis of its venerable medieval tradition culminating in the Králice Bible, and did not take account of a number of phonological and morphological changes which the colloquial -- particularly in the region of the capital, Prague -- underwent, so that informal spoken Czech differs rather extensively from the written or formal variety. There is now a colloquial *košné* used by educated, non-dialect speakers in informal situations. This system of diglossia, in which the standard language has rather distinct colloquial and formal varieties is not uncommon (cf. Persian, Arabic, Modern Greek, etc.), but is rare in the Slavic world (only Slovenian shows a somewhat similar situation).

Slovak

Slovakia, upon the settlement of the Magyars in the Central European (Pannonian) plain, was incorporated into the Hungarian realm. As in most areas of medieval Europe, Latin was

the official language of public life in Hungary and continued so long after it began to be replaced by the vernacular in other parts of Europe. In Slovakia, as part of the lands of the Hungarian crown, Latin was used, supplemented by German in some of the towns settled by German burghers invited by the Hungarian monarchs to their realm, and by Czech, used by Czechs who took refuge in Slovakia after the Hussite wars and the Protestant reformation. The Protestants, who became an important minority in Slovakia, tended to use Czech as their written language, partly because of the widespread diffusion of the Czech Králice Bible. Proximity to the Czech lands and similarity of language, made Czech (often with some Slovak linguistic features) an easy written medium for Slovaks.

The late eighteenth century saw the beginning of two attempts to create a more purely Slovak written language. The first, and more important, arose among Catholic writers in Western Slovakia and is particularly connected with the name of Anton Bernolák, a priest who wrote a Slovak grammar and dictionary. Bernolák's language was based upon the western Slovak dialects; the other arose among the Calvinists of Eastern Slovakia and involved a language (used particularly for religious and ecclesiastical writings) based on Eastern Slovak dialects and written according to Hungarian spelling conventions. It survived through the nineteenth century, but now represents merely a curiosity.

Though the early nineteenth century saw attempts to continue the Bernolák tradition of written Slovak, the actual groundwork for the present Slovak written standard was laid by Ľudovít Štur, a Protestant from central Slovakia who advocated use of Central Slovak as the most characteristically Slovak variety of speech. Štur's movement encountered considerable opposition from a number of his fellow Protestants, who favored continued use of Czech as a standard language, but the standard language based on Central Slovak eventually won out, replacing both Czech and the earlier Bernolák standard. It did not however win out in precisely the form Štur had advocated. First, a certain number of Western Slovak (rather than the purely Central Slovak, which Štur advocated) elements were incorporated, probably in deference to the earlier Bernolák tradition. Secondly, rather than the simple orthography advocated by Štur, in which the spelling of the written word was quite consistent with speech, the principal of etymological spelling was borrowed from Czech, resulting in a somewhat more complicated spelling system.

The establishment of a standard Slovak was greatly furthered by the publication of a school grammar in 1852 by Martin Štáta and by the work of the linguist Samo Čambel.

The nineteenth century, though a period of national rebirth, was a time of great trial for the Slovak people, for with the growth of nationalism among their Magyar rulers, they were subjected to relentless pressure to assimilate. Particu-

larly hardfelt was the absence of sufficient school facilities in the Slovak language. These factors resulted frequently in the automatic magyarization of any Slovak who advanced educationally or economically, thus depriving the nation of much needed leadership. However, even under these difficult conditions a native intelligentsia did develop; Slovak writers turned out significant works and the Slovak cultural association (Matica Slovenská), though harassed by the Hungarian authorities and supported only by private contributions, carried on a remarkable cultural work in behalf of the Slovak nation.

With the establishment of the Czechoslovak Republic after World War I, the situation radically changed. Slovak became one of the two co-equal official languages of that republic and has been used in all spheres of public life and education in Slovakia since.